

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-25

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 ADP-00 ACDA-19 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07

H-02 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-10 PA-03 RSC-01 PRS-01

SS-15 USIA-12 NEA-10 TRSE-00 MBFR-03 SAJ-01 AEC-11

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R 261240 Z JUN 73

FM AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 296

INFO AMEMBASSY COPENHAGEN

AMEMBASSY HELSINKI

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USMISSION GENEVA

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C O N F I D E N T I A L STOCKHOLM 2189

E. O.11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR MARR

SUBJECT: SWEDISH REACTION TO U. S.- SOVIET NUCLEAR WAR AGREEMENT

REF: A. GENEVA 3102; B. DEFATT IR 6892 182 73

BEGIN SUMMARY: SWEDISH REACTION TO U. S.- SOVIET SUMMIT ACHIEVEMENTS AND NUCLEAR WAR AGREEMENT IN PARTICULAR IS MIXTURE OF APPROVAL OF ENHANCED CHANCES FOR PEACEFUL WORLD ORDER WITH CONCERN THAT FATE OF " SMALL POWERS" LIKE SWEDEN LIES IN HANDS OF SUPERPOWERS HEGEMONISTS. DISARMAMENT MINISTER MYRDAL EMPHASIZES THE FORMER. COMMANDERAIN- CHIEF SYNNERGREN EMPHASIZES SMALL POWER CONCERNS. IN ANY EVENT SWEDEN MAY BE EXPECTED TO PURSUE IT SPRAGMATIC NON- ALIGNMENT POLICY AS BEFORE. END SUMMARY.

1. SWEDISH GOVERNMENT HAS MADE NO FORMAL COMMENT ON U. S.- SOVIET AGREEMENT ON PREVENTION OF NUCLEAR WAR, BUT OUTLINES OF SWEDISH REACTION, AS EXPRESSED IN PUBLIC AND PRIVATE COMMENTS OF RESPONSIBLE OFFICIALS ARE CLEAR. ESSENCE OF THIS REACTION IS PHILOSOPHICAL.
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PHICAL APPROVAL OF " NEW KELLOGG- BRIAND PACT" COUPLED WITH PRAG-MATIC ANXIETY AS TO CONSEQUENCES FOR SWEDEN AND OTHER SMALL POWERS OF SUPERPOWER DETENTE.

2. MINISTER OF STATE ALVE MYRDAL, SWEDEN' S DISARMAMENT SPECIALIST, SAID IN TV INTERVIEW THAT U. S. AND USSR HAD FORMALIZED POLICIES ON WHICH THEY HAD BEEN IN TACIT AGREEMENT FOR TEN YEARS. SINCE CUBA CONFRONTATION THERE HAD BEEN CLEAR UNDERSTANDING THAT NUCLEAR

WAR WAS TANTAMOUNT TO MUTUAL SUICIDE, SHE SAID. TO INTERVIEWER' S QUESTION SUGGESTING THAT AGREEMENT WAS JUST WORDS WITHOUG PRACTICAL SIGNIFICANCE, MRS. MYRDAL DEMURRED, SAYING IT WAS IM-PORTANT AGREEMENT TO BE WELCOMED BY EVERYONE CONCERNED FOR PEACE.

SHE SAID OBLIGATION TO CONSULT BILATERALLY AND WITH UN IN CRISIS SITUATIONS WAS HIGHLY IMPORTANT, ADDING " THE RED TELEPHONE BRACKETS HOT LINE UNBRACKETS WILL BE AN IMPORTANT INSTRUMENT FOR SETTLING CONFLICTS AROUND THE WORLD."

3. COMMANDER- IN- CHIEF STIG SYNNERGREN OF SWEDISH ARMED FORCES, ALSO INTERVIEWED BY TV, EMPHASIZED THE UNCERTAINTIES AHEAD IN COMMENTS WHICH ACCEPTED U. S.- SOVIET ACCORD AS A FACT NOT NECES-SARILY TO SWEDEN' S ADVANTAGE. ASKED WHETHER HE FELT THE BE-GINNING OF U. S. WITHDRAWAL FROM EUROPE WAS IN SIGHT, SYNNERGREN SAID SWEDEN SHARED THE CONCERN OF OTHER SMALL COUNTRIES. THEY COULD NOT KNOW, HE SAID, WHAT THE END- RESULT WILL BE WHEN SUPER-POWERS REACH AGREEMENT OVER HEADS OF SMALL COUNTRIES.

4. SYNNERGREN SAID IT WAS DIFFICULT TO PREDICT WHAT KIND OF CON-SEQUENCES WILL FLOW FROM NIXON- BREZHNEV AGREEMENT. ONE INDICA-TION OF CONCERN IS THAT UK WILL RETAIN ITS DEFENSE CAPABILITIES AND PERHAPS SHOULD SHOULD A LARGER BURDEN, HE SAID, ADDING THAT FRANCE AND GERMANY WERE TENDING TO DRAW SIMILAR CONCLUSIONS. BUT, SYNNERGREN SAID, THEY ALL WELL KNEW THAT SECOND- RATE NUCLEAR POWERS HAD NO CHANCE TO INFLUENCE THE WORLD SITUATION BY MAKING SOME ADDITIONS TO THEIR NUCLEAR ARSENALS.

5. IN PREPARATION FOR HELSINKI FOREIGN MINISTER' S MEETING NEXT WEEK, MFA IS MAKING URGENT ANALYSIS OF SUMMIT ACHIEVEMENTS IN CONTEXT OF CSCE. WACHTMEISTER, DIRECTOR OF POLITICAL AFFAIRS, TOLD CHARGE THAT HE COULD NOT FORECAST NOW IMPACT ON GOS AND OTHER EUROPEAN COUNTRIES UNTIL THEY GOT SOME INSIGHT INTO WHAT WAS ACHIEVED AT THE SUMMIT.

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6. COMMENT. COMMENTS OF OFFICIALS AND COMMENTARIES IN BELLWETHER PRESS INDICATE SWEDEN WILL TAKE A RATHER GAULLIST VIEW OF U. S.- SOVIET DETENTE AND COOPERATION AGREEMENTS, I. E., AN ENTENTE SUPERIEURE HAS BEEN FORMED, GIVING EUROPEAN COUNTRIES THE OPTION

OF ACCEPTING AGREED SUPERPOWER POLICY GUIDELINES OR OF ATTEMPTING TO ESTABLISH THE BASIS FOR AN INDEPENDENT EUROPEAN POLICY.

7. THE SWEDES WOULD SUPPORT ANY STRENGTHENING OF EUROPEAN " SMALL POWERS" IN RELATION TO BIG BROTHER ON EITHER SIDE. BUT THEY SHOW NO SIGN WHATEVER OF CONSIDERING ANY REAPPRAISAL OF 1972 DECISION TO STAND CLEAR OF EC OR ANY SERIOUS COMMITMENT TO EUROPEAN UNION. AS SYNNERGREN INDICATED. THIS WOULD SEEM TO BE TIEING SWEDEN' S FATE TO A SECOND- RATE POWER. AND IT IS A LONG- ESTABLISHED ARTICLE OF FAITH IN SWEDISH FOREIGN POLICY THAT ONE NEVER GETS IN BED WITH A LOSER.

8. THE REALISTS WHO MAKE THE BASIC POLICY DECISIONS IN STOCKHOLM SEE THE WORLD AS DOES DEFENSE MINISTER ANDERSSON (REF B) I. E., SMALL COUNTRIES LIKE SWEDEN CAN BE SECURE AND PROSPEROUS ONLY IF THEN MAINTAIN A BENEFICIENT RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SUPERPOWERS, OF WHICH THE U. S. IS THE BETTER- INTENTIONED AND MORE HELPFUL.
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